1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of [illegible]sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

The presence of women working on the farm has been quite so-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 654 439 655 tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on the open market.

241 654 437 [474] Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' Associations, the farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

241 474 437 654 As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Association than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

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241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[3] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
577 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
a 437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to